A TALK WITH BURMA'S PREMIER BY SAM A. JAFFE

THE Nation

May 21, 1955
20c

Frederick L. Schuman

# New Outlook For Peace

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Castillo's Guatemala — *David Graham*
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EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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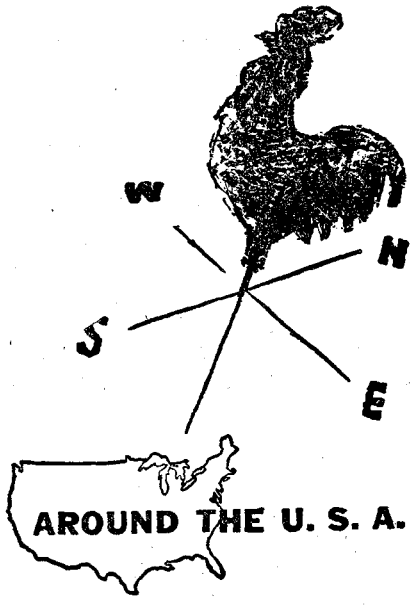


## The U. N. Debated at the Grass Roots

*San Francisco*

AT 10:15 a. m. a smallish, graying attorney strode into the glare of television lights, seated himself confidently at the witness table, identified himself as Luther M. Carr from the Burlingame-San Mateo Kiwanis Club, and told a subcommittee of the United States Senate that Kiwanis International favored a much stronger United Nations organization. At 6:30 p. m. an intense high-school senior named George O'Brien ended a vitriolic attack on the U. N. by shouting "Fight Comm-U-N-ism!" Inbetween Senators Sparkman and Knowland heard seventy-six witnesses express opinions about the U. N. ranging from lavish praise to scathing denunciation.

The San Francisco hearing was one of those that a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations has been holding in various cities to learn how people feel about revision of the U. N. Charter. Although Sparkman opened it by saying, "This is not a town meeting, nor is it a public-opinion poll," newsmen resolutely totted up the pros and antis. By the reckoning of this reporter, forty-two were for revision and twenty-eight against, with six too uncertain or vague to count.

Actually, as a guide to public opinion the poll had little value, since organizations like the United World Federalists and the American Association for the United Nations vied with others like Pro America and the D. A. R. to see which could get the most friends to testify "as individuals." Generally, the pros followed the U. W. F. line in favoring increased power for the U. N. only in the fields of war and armaments; most of them called for an international police force and stronger disarmament provisions. Quite a few favored "universal membership" without the right of withdrawal. Several believed the U. N. should have "limited" powers of taxation. Almost all stressed the need for continued emphasis on the work of the specialized agencies, such as W.H.O. and UNESCO. Many warned of the dangers in bilateral or regional arrangements bypassing the U. N. Only two or three called for a real world government, usually along the lines of the American federal system.

There seemed, too, to be an A. A. U. N. "line"—characterized as the "don't-rock-the-boat" theory by witness John Henry Merryman of Stanford University, who argued the case for revision in *The Nation* of January 8. Monroe Deutsch, provost emeritus of the University of California, was one who opposed revision on the ground that it might weaken the U. N. to tamper with its Charter when it is already on such a precarious basis.

The out-and-out U. N. opponents followed the lead of the second witness, Aaron Sargent of the Sons of the American Revolution. Myron Fagan, a professional U. N.-hater, got nods of approval from his supporters—and a mild laugh from the rest of the audience—by intoning solemn warnings about "the secret agreement between Alger Hiss and Molotov," which also turned up in several other speeches.

DURING the hours when the proceedings were being televised, Knowland leaned forward often to ask sharp questions of those who seemed to favor admission of Communist China or to lay too strong an emphasis on "peace," and he succeeded several times in rendering the testimony absurd or forcing the speaker into retreat. But he picked only on selected witnesses, letting the well-informed U. W. F. and the A. A. U. N. representatives go unquestioned.

Sparkman came out of a benign calm only once, and that after the cameras had been wheeled out. Dr. Max A. X. Clark, chairman of something called the American Flag Committee, began his testimony by saying that "the U. N. was planned not by American patriots but by a clique of international parasites," and got progressively sillier. Sparkman rose and roared at Clark: "Your statement is so full of distortion and complete prejudice . . . that I want to say to you, sir, that I personally resent the entire statement!" The outburst drew the heaviest applause of the day.

The hearings were not entirely cut-and-dried. Yale Maxon, a political scientist with years of Far Eastern experience, and pretty Marylouise Allen, representing the local Young Democrats, favored the admission of India to Security Council status. An "interprofessional consultant," Dr. Nancy Cross, submitted detailed and complicated formulas for fairer representation. Lawrence Dawson, a film-cutter, impressed those present with a discussion of the semantic confusion caused by talking about nations as if they were people.

The League of Women Voters and the American Association of University Women stayed with the don't rock-the-boaters and were joined by the Veterans of Foreign Wars. It was even more gratifying to see the groups advocating a stronger U. N.—Kiwanis, Rotary, the Young Democrats, and the Friends—reinforced by the National Council of Jewish Women, the National Council of Catholic Women, and—hold your hat—the American Legion. The Legion speaker in one of the best-balanced statements of the day calmly admitted that "UNESCO is a controversial subject in our organization," but went on to say that the Legion believed peace could be assured only by setting up a full international police force and giving more power to the U. N.

His testimony highlighted the most important fact the hearings brought out—that nobody wants to fight an atomic war.

GENE MARINE

[*Gene Marine writes frequently for* The Nation *about happenings on the West Coast.*]

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VOLUME 180, NUMBER 21
NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 21, 1955

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

# The Shape of Things

## The Couch and the Table

The international picture looks brighter than at any time since the end of the Korean war. In the space of a week East met West to conclude an Austrian treaty, and Moscow accepted a bid for four-power talks at the highest level. In the face of these accomplishments, the stress laid by the West on the question of Soviet motivation serves no useful purpose. It is true that no one outside the Kremlin can say with assurance whether the Russians really want peace or are merely going through elaborate maneuvers to stave off German rearmament. But by the same token the Russians can advance reasons for doubting Western sincerity. Is the West coming to the four-power talks ready for genuine negotiation, or was President Eisenhower's bid for the conference an elaborate maneuver designed to save the British elections for the Tories and to keep the opposition off the backs of Chancellor Adenauer in Germany and Premier Faure in France? No doubt the motivations on both sides are more complex than either would readily admit. But at the moment the conference table appears to be a far more useful article of furniture than the psychoanalyst's couch; both sides would do better to concentrate on it.

Given good will, the possible accomplishments of a four-power meeting are implied by Frederick L. Schuman's brilliant article in this issue. His argument for the creation of a broad neutral belt of Sweden, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and Yugoslavia seems extraordinarily cogent, especially in view of Moscow's latest gesture toward Belgrade. Sooner or later the West may come to see that there are better ways of preserving the peace of Europe than with twelve German divisions.

## The Lively Ghost

After more than twenty years of reciprocal-trade policy, one would have thought that the ghost of protectionism would have been laid forever. Not so. H. R. 1, the President-sponsored measure to extend the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, was shot full of holes by the Senate Finance Committee, and unless the public's voice is heard is not likely to be repaired extensively in the House-Senate conference committee where it now lies. Who are the bill's opponents? "In general the trouble-raisers are speaking for interests within their own constituencies," said the New York *Times* editorially on April 4. "They are concerned with textiles, certain farm products, oil, Swiss watches and watch movements, and on down the line. . . . It would not be unfair to say that these honest citizens sometimes also fear loss of votes." The special interests, in other words, are at it again. For example, the domestic jewelled-watch manufacturers pleaded successfully for special tariff protection on the grounds of "defense essentiality." This encouraged the chemical and coal industries, cutlery makers, tunafish processors, and even the lace and pencil manufacturers to claim likewise. Trade not only follows the flag; it sometimes wraps itself up in it.

Linked with H. R. 1 is H. R. 5550, the bill ratifying United States membership in the Organization for Trade Cooperation, a new international agency designed to put teeth into the thirty-four-nation General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Louis H. Pink, chairman of the Citizens Conference on International Economic Union, representing a formidable group of economists, publicists, professors, and civic leaders, has urged that "both bills are needed . . . to bolster our strength and the strength of the nations on our side in the world conflict of ideologies." It is perhaps too much to expect a world view from a small pencil manufacturer tucked away in the corner of this very large country. But a Congressman, from the eminence of the Hill, should be able to see that the alternative to the free flow of world trade is autarchy, international friction, and ultimately war.

## The Pledge Unredeemed

In recommitting the Hawaii-Alaska statehood bill by a vote of 218 to 170 the House of Representatives exhibited the cynicism and disregard of platform and campaign pledges which have characterized "the great crusade" since the start. For the defeat of the long-unfulfilled aspirations of our only two incorporated territories was engineered by the Administration. While most Southern Democrats supported their Republican colleagues in perpetuating American colonialism, a majority of the Democrats voted against recommittal. Had the House Republicans even divided equally, the statehood bill would have passed and gone to the Senate where it was certain of approval.

Five years ago, while president of Columbia University, Dwight Eisenhower declared in a public address at Denver that "quick admission of Alaska and Hawaii to statehood will show the world that America practices what it preaches," and expressed the hope that Congress would act accordingly. But once Presi-

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**The Nation, May 21, 1955. Volume 180. No. 21**

**The Nation**, published weekly by The Nation Company and copyright, 1955, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879 at the Post Office of New York N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. Reentered as second class matter at the Post Office Montgomery, Alabama. Printing Office. 1603 Reuber Street.

**Subscription Prices Domestic**—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

**Change of Address:** Three weeks notice is required for change of address, *which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.*

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dent of the United States, he supported statehood for Hawaii only—obviously to bolster the slender Republican majority by adding the two Republican Senators whom Hawaii was expected to elect. This move was countered by the Senate Democrats, who united the two statehood bills in one measure which passed the Senate by a more than two-to-one vote in the Eighty-third Congress. The showing of Democratic strength in the Hawaiian 1954 elections and the resulting doubt whether Hawaii as a state would produce the desired two Republican Senators, probably played a part in the heavy Republican opposition in the House.

Alaskans, whose presumed adherence to one party—the Democratic—is likewise far from assured, also attribute President Eisenhower's reversal of his previous stand to one of his most influential advisers, General Lucius Clay. Since his retirement Clay has become chairman of the board of the Continental Can Company, one of whose principal customers is the Alaska canned-salmon industry. This powerful industry has consistently opposed statehood for Alaska, as well as every increase in the territory's autonomy.

## The New Left Moves Ahead

France's New Left—non-Communist, but to be distinguished from the similarly named group backing Mendes-France—is assuming an active role in French politics. It comprises such organizations as the Young Republic, the Independent Left, and the Progressive Union, and its leaders have recently been meeting in Paris to plan for the holding of a national conference toward the end of September. The breadth of the movement is indicated by the diversity of its leadership, which includes a former Gaullist deputy, a former M. R. P. deputy, a former Cabinet minister, and such well-known political writers as Domenach of *Esprit*, Claude Bourdet of *l'Observateur*, Simone de Beauvoir, and Giles Martinet.

Last month's cantonal elections provided considerable encouragement for this modified popular-front movement. The balloting showed a slight drift leftward by the electorate; equally important, it yielded the first sign in recent years of a better relationship between the Socialists and the Communists. The generally improved international atmosphere is also contributing to the sanguine atmosphere in which the New Left leaders are preparing a counter-attack against the right after six years of constant retreat. They realize for any successful action the cooperation of the Socialists is indispensable. This presents a problem, for the official Socialist position is opposed to alliance with other left groups. During the cantonal elections Guy Mollet, Socialist Party secretary, forbade local agreements with the Communists, but fourteen regional Socialist parties defied the order in the second balloting, with profitable results. So the New Left leaders now hope that the Socialist rank and file will force their party to join in the broader struggle to check reaction.




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# NEW OUTLOOK FOR PEACE

## America's Key Role . . *by Frederick L. Schuman*

LIONS now "roar as gently as any sucking dove." Bears, eagles, and even dragons in the jungle of international anarchy replace poses of ferocity with gestures of affection. The lesser political fauna follow suit. The wines of May, it would appear, are working their magic so swiftly that a midsummer night's dream of peace is no longer wholly illusory.

Moscow on May 11 proposed withdrawal of foreign troops from Germany and, for the first time, clearly conceded the need for effective international inspection and control in any accord for disarmament. Russia's retreat from Austria is imminent. Washington, London, and Paris are at long last agreed to meet with the U. S. S. R. at the "summit" to negotiate settlements. Bulganin is agreeable. Sir Winston's wisdom is vindicated. Eisenhower asserts his willingness "to do anything, to meet with anyone, anywhere" to further peace with self-respect.

Many tangles and troubles loom ahead. Yet it is a sign of the times that the junior Senator from Wisconsin is "deeply disturbed" and that the only Chief of State still predicting another global conflict is the chameleon-like Premier of Thailand, whose reflexes are evidently more retarded than in his younger days. The new climate, with all its hopes and aspirations, is not, of course, a product of this year's spring fever but of long maturing changes, cumulative in their impact and almost certain to culminate by bringing world affairs into a fresh growing season and toward a harvest-time.

Late last January, as the Formosa crisis first boiled up into headlines, I found myself in the Middle-West lecturing on Why World War III Will Never Be Fought. Sundry forum chairmen telephoned me to express the hope, sometimes anxiously, sometimes humorously, that general war would not break out prior to my oral demonstration of its impossibility. I assured them with aplomb that nothing of the sort would occur either before or after the address—as I had assured their predecessors in the mid 1930's that World War II was already "inevitable" and would begin between 1938 and 1940.

SUCH forecasting is hazardous if derived from tea leaves, crystal balls, or astrology. It is less so if based upon sober analysis of power politics, global strategy, and the present and prospective balance of forces in a divided world. In *The Nation* of June 20, 1953, I ventured to outline such an analysis in The Coming End of the Cold War. The argument, briefly, was that the Communist coalition and the Free World, by negating each other's efforts to attain preponderance, had arrived at a rough parity of power making for a global deadlock or stalemate unlikely to be altered significantly by either side in the predictable future; that under these circumstances policy-makers on both sides were incapable of entertaining illusions of military superiority or concocting plausible strategic plans for victory, without which wars among great powers are never unleashed even by the most mistaken or irrational of statesmen; and that consequently no "incidents" or "crises," however dramatic, could evoke decisions leading once more, and for the last time, to Armageddon. Since violence and bargaining are the only available methods of settling problems of power in a state system lacking common government, the conclusion followed from the unfeasibility of war that no alternative remained save a series of negotiated settlements.

These imperatives of *Realpolitik*, reflected in the Korean armistice of 1953 and in the cease-fire in partitioned Vietnam in 1954 and potently reinforced by prospects of nuclear co-annihilation, are now reasserting themselves on a grand scale in mid-year of 1955. They determine, almost inexorably, the limits, the ends, and even the means of foreign policy for every sovereignty on earth. This ineluctable fact is now appreciated in Moscow and Peking and is being used to advantage in Communist diplomacy and propaganda. It is likewise recognized by Japanese and Germans, Asian neutrals, and all America's far-flung allies except Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek. Only Americans have difficulty in grasping the obvious, thanks to persisting hallucinations of omnipotence and to top-level demagoguery among formulators of foreign policy.

Our "blind spot" is explicable, in part, in terms of John Foster Dulles's strange conception of the function of diplomacy. "Speak softly and carry a big stick" is doubtless an obsolete formula. But even now it is operationally a more practical directive than the Dulles synthesis of piety, legalism, and bluff. It has been said, unkindly but aptly, of the Secretary of State that he practices diplomacy first by shaking his fist, next by shaking his finger, and finally by shaking all over. Confusion is confounded by his unerring disposition to shy away from East-West negotiations, lest he be accused of "appeasement," and to sacrifice all, including honor, in the cause of appeasing the troglodytes in Congress.

No workable foreign policy can be built on such foundations. But the Great Republic cannot act, or even hope to survive, without a workable foreign policy. Therefore the disciples of the Dulles dispensation, each being forced into an "ago-

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nizing reappraisal" by the pressure of realities, the desires of our allies, the reawakening of American public opinion, and the slow, shrewd wisdom of President Eisenhower. The result is a heartening reaffirmation of the dictum that politics is the art of the possible. When what is possible is also necessary, because of the lack of any practiced alternative, even the most obtuse of policy-makers have no choice but to yield to the inevitable.

WHAT is now inevitable is a series of bargains or stand-offs, tacit or explicit, regarding all the major issues between Marxland and Freeland. The pattern of these bargains will assume one of two forms: (1) reaffirmation of the status quo coupled with an intensified arms race, further tensions on the frontier, pointless hostilities in the Strait of Formosa, continued partition of Korea, Indo-China, Austria, and Germany, expensive and dangerous albeit futile efforts by Washington to arm Germans and Japanese to a point where Western military potentials will overbalance those of the Soviet bloc, and equally costly and vain attempts by Moscow and Peking to overbalance the potentials of the American coalition; or (2) disengagement along the periphery through a cease-fire in the Strait of Formosa, military evacuation and neutralization of Korea, Indo-China, Austria, and Germany, and an East-West modus vivendi based on a neutral zone between the antagonists and the renunciation on both sides of visionary efforts to "liberate" the "oppressed masses" on the other side from their "exploiters."

*Dr. Time: a Better Healer Than Dr. Bomb*

These alternatives, to be sure, are too starkly stated. A mixture of the options is more probable, varying from place to place. What is certain, I believe, is that the first choice, prodigal and perilous as it is bound to be, cannot eventuate in any overweaning "position of strength" for either the Soviet bloc or the Atlantic alliance or in any measurable alteration of the current checkmate between the players. The second offers more hopeful possibilities.

What is disturbing is that American decision makers and opinion shapers are not preparing America to face up to *either* alternative, while the Communist power holders are adroitly planning to accept the consequences of *both* alternatives in the best Machiavellian and Stalinist-Leninist tradition. Washington is reluctant to negotiate "disengagements" and equally reluctant to enlarge expenditures for arms and foreign aid which the other course demands. Moscow and Peking are doing both, although obviously preferring disengagement and a relaxation of tension as a means of avoiding the risks of overextension and the stresses and strains of a new arms race.

The transition from Malenkov to the Bulganin-Krushchev-Zhukov regime on Februry 8, coupled with a 12 per cent increase in Soviet military appropriations, reemphasis on heavy industry, and projects for a Communist NATO, was the Muscovite response to the prospect of West German rearmament. The inauguration of conscription in Red China on the following day was Peking's response to the prospect of Japanese rearmament. Conversely, Chou En-lai's bid at Bandung for "negotiations" over Formosa and Molotov's bid for the "neutralization" of Austria—and, prospectively, of Germany—constituted the Communist reply, by way of appeal to universal hopes for peace, to American efforts to organize and arm everybody against Marxland.

With Moscow flexible and Washington inflexible and blind to the alternatives, the outcome is unpredictable. I nevertheless suspect that the final result will be determined in neither capital but elsewhere. America can defend Formosa and the Pescadores but cannot defend Quemoy and the Matsus—even by the employment of atomic weapons, the use of which would almost certainly demolish whatever moral prestige the United States still enjoys throughout Eurasia. China can take Quemoy and the Matsus but cannot "liberate" Formosa and the Pescadores. Japan must trade with China and Russia or else remain forever an American charity patient. Britons, Frenchmen, Italians, and Germans can have prosperity and peace through an East-West *detente* or endless American subsidies plus danger of atomic incineration in intensified prosecution of the cold war.

GERMANY is the theater of discord where decisions still to be made will have the most far-reaching implications. Few Americans question Washington's approach to the German problem. What Communists propose we must oppose. What Communists resist we must insist upon. This stereotype precludes public enlightenment or adaptable statesmanship. But the issue remains as to whether American national interests and the security of the Free World are likely to be well served by Washington's prescription for the German sickness or might, conceivably, be better served by Moscow's prescription.

The riddle of the Reich is not at all a question of whether a reunited and rearmed Germany, restored as a military "great power," will shift the global balance in our favor or in the Russians' favor by its future diplomatic alignment. Germany's great-power role has been ended by the industrialization of Russia, which spelled defeat for the Wehrmacht at Moscow and Stalingrad in 1941-42 and debacle at Berlin in 1945. The U. S. S. R. and its allies, if need be, can match twice or thrice over every division of Bonn's projected *Streitkraefte,* although Communist policy-makers have no desire whatever to engage in so costly and wasteful a rivalry in arms. Nothing done or left undone by Germans will alter the equipoise of power already achieved between Marxland and Freeland. To add Germany to the Soviet bloc is impossible. To add a united and rearmed Reich to the Western bloc is equally impossible.



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*Tug of War and Peace*

The Germanic enigma poses a wholly different choice. All Germans can have unity at the price of neutrality and continued disarmament. Or West Germans can have arms and a Western alliance at the price of the permanent partition of the Reich. No third option exists. Bonn's pretense that arms will foster "negotiation from strength" and promote reunification and recovery of lost provinces is either a fantasy or a fraud. The votes in the Bundestag on February 27 and in the Bundesrat on March 18 in favor of the Paris pacts can scarcely be deemed expressions of German popular preferences. Wherever Germans since 1953 have had a chance to choose between Christian Democratic disciples of rearmament and Social Democratic apostles of disarmament, neutrality, and reunification, millions have shifted their support from the former to the latter, as in the Landtag elections in Schleswig-Holstein, September 12, 1954; in Bavaria and Hesse, November 28, 1954; and in Lower Saxony, April 24, 1955.

On the fifth day of the fifth month of the fifth year of the sixth decade of the century, and ten years after the Nazi *Gotterdaemmerung*, Bonn recovered "sovereignty." But Germany's destiny is still to be decided between Washington and Moscow. American policy-makers appear to be irrevocably committed to West German rearmament and alliance with the West, with no alternative under consideration. Those of the U. S. S. R. are tentatively committed to German unity, including the prospective sacrifice of the East German regime, if the payment of this price will buy German disarmament and neutrality; to perpetuation of the partition of the Reich if the West refuses to bargain; and in the remoter future, in the tradition of 1922 and 1939, to contemplation of a possible "deal" with Adenauer's successors at Bonn at the expense of the West. In diplomacy, those who weigh alternative policies are more successful than those hypnotized by a single policy.

In Germany as in Austria the time is near when the price of neutrality will purchase unification and the withdrawal of Soviet troops. The contention that neutrality is "impossible" for Germany is a fiction. There can be no united and liberated Reich without neutrality. The argument that an unarmed Reich would leave NATO strategically unworkable is, I submit, untrue, since the defense of Western Europe will never again be possible, with or without a German contribution, if conceived of in terms of local land power. European security rests upon the global power of the Atlantic alliance vis-a-vis the Soviet bloc. The postulate, espoused by even so sage a commentator as Walter Lippmann, that the Oder-Neisse frontier must be altered is fatuous. The new eastern borders are permanent unless they should later be revised—and this I deem improbable—by a German-Polish-Soviet accord. The facts of power render futile all neo-Nazi visions of irredentism, *Lebensraum*, and a new *Drang nach Osten*. The assumption that a neutral, unarmed Reich, guaranteed as to its independence, integrity, and neutrality by Moscow, Paris, London, and Washington, would become a victim of Communist subversion or aggression is as false as the Nazi lie of the 1930's that Germany had to rearm to protect itself from Red aggression and to fend off imaginary invasions by Poles, Czechs, or Frenchmen. None of these prognoses correspond to present realities or future possibilities.

WHAT is possible is the orderly demise of the "German Democratic Republic," withdrawal of Russian armies from Austria, Germany, and and even from Poland, and Soviet participation in new arrangements for European security. Those who hold that the Soviet price for these blessings is too high scarcely strengthen their case by arguing that the West will be more secure in a Europe armed to the teeth all along both sides of the Iron Curtain than in a Europe in which the great antagonists are disengaged and separated by a broad neutral belt of Sweden, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and Yugoslavia.

The benefits of the second dispensation will be grasped only slowly, if at all, in the Pentagon and in Mr. Dulles's State Department. But they will become increasingly persuasive to growing numbers of Europeans. Given these prospects, I should venture to guess that the influence of our allies, coupled with the eloquent logic of Walter F. George, Estes Kefauver, Adlai Stevenson, and others, will in the end induce the Eisenhower Administration to opt for disengagement rather than for intensified cold war—all the more so as "peace" is bound to be politically popular in 1956, while "war," cold or hot, seems likely to prove unpalatable despite or perhaps because of, the efforts of Knowland, Jenner, McCarthy, Kohlberg, Howley, *et al.* to generate enthusiasm for an armed crusade against the Communist infidels.

Four centuries ago a famous Florentine diplomat wrote:

> It is not unknown to me how many have been and are of opinion that worldly events are so governed by fortune and by God that men cannot by their prudence change them, and that on the contrary there is no remedy whatever, and for this they may judge it to be useless to toil much about them, but let things be ruled by chance. This opinion has been more held in our day, from the great changes that have been seen, and are daily seen, beyond every human conjecture. When I think about them, at times I am partly inclined to share this opinion. Nevertheless, that our free will may not be altogether extinguished, I think it may be true that fortune is the ruler of half our actions, but that she allows the other half or thereabouts to be governed by us.

In the "other half" lies the chance of converting inevitable coexistence from a vain rivalry for military ascendancy into a fruitful competition for the service of human needs. Our enemies are prepared for either choice. The choice of our allies and of all the uncommitted neutrals is not in doubt. America is summoned to choose.



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# THE PETERS CASE

## A Crucial Court Test . . *by Phillip Sirotkin*

THE United States Supreme Court recently heard oral arguments and will shortly render a decision in what may well be its most important case of the year. The ostensible issue in *Peters* v. *Hobby* is the constitutionality of procedures employed under the former Truman loyalty program. But as the Eisenhower Administration is well aware, its own security procedures are equally at stake. If the decision should go against the government, the whole program, one official has said, would be knocked "galley-west."

Dr. John Punnett Peters, now senior professor of medicine at Yale University, served for several years as a part-time consultant to the Surgeon General. In this capacity he was a government employee in the Public Health Service of the Federal Security Agency, predecessor of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. His responsibility was principally in the field of federal grants to private medical-research projects.

Dr. Peters's long involvement in the loyalty-security process began on January 7, 1949, when he was notified that the Federal Security Agency had received adverse information concerning his loyalty. The loyalty board, however, discovered no evidence justifying doubts as to his loyalty, and he was given complete clearance. In 1951 charges were again made against Dr. Peters, and again the board cleared him. Then in the spring of 1953 the review board of the Civil Service Commission reopened the case. After a hearing the review board declared that the evidence sustained a "reasonable doubt" of Dr. Peters's loyalty, and he was dismissed from government service.

At the hearing Dr. Peters denied all charges under oath, and all the witnesses who appeared testified in his favor. He had no opportunity to confront or cross-examine his accusers and was given no information concerning their identity. He appealed the board's ruling to the United States Court of Appeals, chiefly on the ground that his dismissal on secret information given by persons not under oath and whose identities were undisclosed deprived him of the right of due process under the Fifth Amendment. ("No person shall be . . . deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.") His lawyers do not maintain that Peters has a right to a job or that the government lacks the power to protect sensitive agencies. They only contend that dismissal for suspected disloyalty requires certain legal safeguards. Procedure is challenged, not the President's right to dismiss for disloyalty or security reasons. Nevertheless, the Court of Appeals decided against Peters by a two-to-one vote, and he took his cause to the Supreme Court.

THE fact that the Supreme Court agreed to consider this question is important, for in 1951 it had affirmed a similar Appeals Court ruling in the virtually identical case of *Dorothy Bailey* v. *Seth Richardson*. In that case the Supreme Court was divided four to four, and a tie vote permits the decision of the lower court to stand. The same distinguished law firm of Arnold, Portas, and Porter which is defending Dr. Peters argued the earlier case for Miss Bailey. Former Judge Thurman Arnold, chief counsel, joined by his associate Paul Porter, delivered the oral argument. *Amicus curiae* briefs supporting Dr. Peters have also been filed with the Supreme Court by the American Civil Liberties Union, the Engineers and Scientists of America, and the C. I. O.

A basic contention of the Department of Justice and of those who oppose judicial review of the loyalty-security program is that appointment and removal of government personnel *for any reason* is a discretionary executive function to which the requirements of due process are inapplicable. Separation of powers, it is asserted, precludes judicial interference with the President's responsibility for the efficiency of the executive branch. Another argument, and perhaps a stronger one, is that if the government were required to reveal its confidential sources of information, the sources would dry up and the entire security program would be endangered. Consequently, intervention by the courts would greatly hamper the President's ability to protect the machinery of government from the threat of subversion.

PERHAPS the key point in the Attorney General's argument is that public employment is a privilege and not a right. As the Court of Appeals stated in the Bailey case, "There is no requirement in the Constitution that the executive branch rely upon the services of persons in whom it lacks confidence." No person has a constitutional right to be employed by the government. Therefore dismissal from the public service for alleged disloyalty is no different from dismissal on other grounds, such as incompetence. Acute hardships may result in either instance, but that does not entitle the employee to a judicial hearing. Supporters of the loyalty program insist that the discharge of a government employee as a loyalty-security risk is not a finding of guilt or an infliction of punishment, even though the effects may be unfortunate. Such action is administrative in character and therefore not subject to the legal restraints imposed by observance of due process.

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Dispute over the nature of a disloyalty dismissal is the most important legal issue at stake in the Peters' case. For if discharge from the government as a loyalty-security risk is considered punishment, Anglo-American jurisprudence makes certain procedural guaranties mandatory. Paul Crouch, Louis Budenz, and other paid informers would be required to face those they accuse and would be subject to rigorous cross-examination. Denial of the rights of confrontation and cross-examination —a denial historically associated with star-chamber proceedings— would be inconsistent with the demands of a fair trial. And if punishment is to follow, a fair trial must precede.

It seems inevitable that a person dismissed because of doubt as to his loyalty will find future employment opportunities severely limited. His reputation and personal relationships are seriously impaired by the disgrace, and he becomes a social pariah. Not all employers can afford to be as generous as a Yale University. Nor can all persons dismissed from the government anticipate the solid professional support enjoyed by a Condon or an Oppenheimer.

Speaking for the Supreme Court in a decision invalidating an Oklahoma loyalty oath in 1952, Justice Tom Clark said:

> There can be no dispute about the consequences visited upon a person excluded from public employment on disloyalty grounds. In the view of the community the stain is a deep one; indeed, it has become a badge of infamy. Especially is this so in time of cold war and hot emotions when "each man begins to eye his neighbor as a possible enemy."

When Congress passed a rider to an appropriations act in an attempt to deny salaries to three federal employees by name, the Supreme Court in *U. S.* v. *Lovett* struck the measure down as a bill of attainder—"a legislative act which inflicts punishment without a judicial trial." Justice Black stated:

> The Constitution did not contemplate that Congressional action aimed at three individuals, which stigmatized their reputations and seriously impaired their chances to earn a living, could never be challenged in court.

One might properly ask: Is the Executive free from judicial restraints in depriving an employee of certain basic rights while Congress is not?

ATTORNEYS for Dr. Peters ask a reappraisal by the court of the Bailey decision. They maintain that since that case was heard the punitive character of dismissals under the loyalty program has been clearly demonstrated. Many books and articles have discussed and documented the damaging effects of these dismissals. The cases of Chasanow, Fort Monmouth, Val Lorwin, and even Annie Lee Moss are well known. While the harm done in some of these cases has been partially rectified, other individuals have not been so fortunate. Of course, a person fired from a job for any reason experiences some pain, but the consequences of a discharge for disloyalty or under the blanket term "security risk" are far more pervasive.

The Justice Department itself is divided on this vital point. Normally the Solicitor General signs the government's briefs and argues major cases in the Supreme Court. In March it was revealed that the present Solicitor General, Simon Sobeloff, would do neither in the Peters case, and the brief was finally signed by Attorney General Herbert Brownell. There were indications that the reason for Sobeloff's withdrawal was his belief that "due process" *should* apply to loyalty dismissals. Other officials of the department have also apparently rejected the Attorney General's assumption that all dismissals are in the same category.

The fact that Dr. Peters's position in the government was a non-sensitive one is also emphasized by his lawyers. How would his retention endanger the security of the United States? It seems particularly difficult to justify the denial of his procedural rights under the circumstances. Indeed, one might well challenge, in the words of Judge Edgerton of the Court of Appeals—dissenting in the Bailey case—"the ominous theory that the right of fair trial ends where defense of security begins."

Speculation about the final outcome of the Peters case at the hands of the Supreme Court is hazardous of course, and recent personnel changes on the tribunal further complicate any attempt at prediction. However, their past record and the questions asked by the justices when the Peters case was being argued are highly suggestive. Unless subsequent events have altered their views on the issue since 1951, six justices may be expected to align themselves in the following manner: Black, Douglas, and Frankfurter for Peters; Reed, Minton, and Burton against him.

Tom Clark abstained from the vote in the Bailey case, but if he meant what he said in the Oklahoma loyalty-oath opinion, it may be assumed that now he will side with Peters. On the other hand, his stand on similar questions has been unpredictable. Chief Justice Warren's manifest concern for personal liberty suggests that he might cast a strong vote in behalf of Dr. Peters, unlike his predecessor, Fred Vinson, who decided against Miss Bailey. Justice Jackson supported Miss Bailey; his successor, the recently appointed Justice Harlan, is the unknown element, and his position may be the decisive one if Clark decides for the government and the others divide in the manner suggested.

A DECISION favorable to Dr. Peters is probable. Questions raised by Warren, Harlan, and Black indicated a disposition to require due-process precedures in loyalty-security hearings. Chief Justice Warren, in particular, seemed to reject completely the government's argument that disloyalty dismissals did not constitute punishment. Justice Black reiterated his earlier stand that government employees were entitled to constitutional guaranties in any loyalty-security program. Moreover, the latest appointee to the court, Justice Harlan, in a number of sharp questions displayed a severely critical view of the government's position.

A succession of very recent decisions have indicated a pronounced reluctance on the part of the judiciary to sanction arbitrary governmental action in the name of security. Perhaps this trend will be continued and strengthened by a ruling favorable to Dr. Peters. Judges certainly read the daily



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newspapers, and they are aware of the not infrequent disregard of basic procedural safeguards. The record of injustices under the federal government's employee security program has become a long one, and intervention by the courts to provide more stringent legal protection seems overdue. In a previous opinion Justice Frankfurter ably stated the dilemma which now confronts the Supreme Court:

> The problems of security are real. So are the problems of freedom. The paramount issue of the age is to reconcile the two. . . . It is procedure that spells much of the difference between rule by law and rule by whim or caprice.

# CASTILLO'S GUATEMALA

## The Clock Turns Back . . . *by David Graham*

*Guatemala City*

THE lid is on again in Guatemala. The ousting of President Arbenz and his replacement by Castillo Armas accomplished that at any rate. United Fruit has a nice new contract, agrarian reform has been stopped in its tracks, and the big landowners are happily cutting wages again.

Yes, the lid is on again; but if reform has to come by violence for want of legislation, God help the few hundred *ladinos* and foreigners who are squatting on top. The Communists no doubt figured prominently in the efforts of the Arbenz government to modify the existing economic inequalities, but that does not make the inequalities tolerable. Calling the Arbenz regime Communist-controled was pure McCarthyism. By initiating agrarian reform in a country where 2 per cent of the people owned 70 per cent of the land, by encouraging workers to join labor unions and by furthering public education for a population two-thirds illiterate, Arbenz and his predecessor, Arevalo, had aroused the implacable opposition of Guatemala's feudal aristocracy—army leaders, churchmen, and landowners.

Deep down everyone in Guatemala knows that communism was not the issue. Feudalism was the issue, and those who profited from feudalism won. Guatemala did have some tough, intelligent, well-disciplined Communists in posts of power and influence. The country reeks of poverty, and the stench of it drew them like buzzards. But they were a mere handful. Our State Department could find none in the Arbenz Cabinet.

Possibly some Communists had the ear of President Arbenz. The President of Guatemala has to have an ear like a switchboard operator, but it is the line to the army that he always keeps open. No Guatemalan President lasts very long if he lets himself get cut off from the army. Colonel Arbenz had good contacts for a while, until the State Department got busy. Then the army would neither fight for him nor allow his followers to have arms. His allegedly tremendous Communist backing proved to be a myth. So when the army told him he was through, Arbenz stepped aside.

How well the Arbenz administration did for itself is still unclear. There was undoubtedly graft; there has always been graft, south and north of the Rio Grande. But when Castillo took over, Guatemala was not only well along on a vast public-works program but had some $40,000,000 in gold to its credit. There can be no question that under Arbenz the country was making real progress toward democracy. The administration's main projects—land reform, the highway to the Atlantic, public port facilities at San Tomas, and public-power development—had all been suggested by either the World Bank or the United Nations. Land reform was needed to free the people from domestic tyranny; the highway program and the rest to free them from foreign monopolies.

*Former President Arbenz*

FORTUNATELY for Guatemala, Castillo Armas seems honest and conscientious. But to picture him as the Guatemalan St. George who rid his country of the Communist dragon is ludicrous. Any study of the "liberation" shows there was no dragon, and the new government's acts show it is headed by no St. George. Like most of Washington's friends in Latin America, Castillo rules by force, without a congress or a constitution—although a constitution is being written. Stability is the watchword these days.

Dictator though he is, Castillo is not having an easy time. Unemployment and the lack of purchasing power are his biggest economic problems; agrarian reform is his biggest political problem. Guatemala is a vulnerable one-crop country. Coffee is the crop, and most of it has to be sold abroad. Coffee forms 65 per cent of the country's exports, and 35 per cent of the government's income is derived from export taxes on coffee. Recently coffee prices have been falling, but production has re-

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mained about the same. Overall agricultural output is expected to decline about 10 per cent this year, partly on account of bad weather, partly because the small farmers have had their enthusiasm dashed by the delay in land reform. While normally Guatemala exports corn, 700,000 quintals of corn, the basic food, have had to be imported.

With shrinking revenues Castillo will be compelled to adopt a reduced budget. Government employees may have to take a 15 per cent cut in salary, although food prices are nearly 50 per cent higher than they were ten years ago. Work on various government projects—for example, University City and the National Library—has had to be curtailed or halted. Private employers have also felt the lack of cash. Much of the wealth accumulated during the boom years of the Arbenz regime, when coffee prices hit record heights, is hiding out abroad—$500,000,000 of it, they say.

Rich Latin Americans, mindful of the sudden violent turns their politics can take and with a traditional hankering for conspicuous spending, have always shown a reluctance to reinvest their profits at home, preferring to spend or bank them in the United States. This bleeding away of the national substance accounts in some measure for the persistent poverty of the Latin American countries. Foreign-owned companies, however handsomely they treat their employees, contribute to the same process.

Nobody has the exact figures on unemployment, but local business men are gloomy. Such symptoms of trouble as falling retail sales are not to be mistaken. Beggars are quiet and dignified, but they are ubiquitous; and so are shoe-shine boys—from seven to seventy years old—who are to Guatemala what the street-corner apple vendors were to America during the depression.

With only 28,000 of Guatemala's total working force engaged in industry, it is no wonder that the country's per capita income is only $180 a year. And this in a country where the cost of decent living is higher than in the United States; a dozen eggs, for instance, cost 80 cents, and a small apartment in the capital rents for from $70 to $90 a month. Two-thirds of the population produce little, consume little, and buy practically nothing.

BUT regardless of the living conditions or their politics, Guatemalans are agreed on one thing: the country needs economic aid and needs it fast. They cannot understand Washington's niggardliness when they note the billions handed out to other parts of the world. "We cleaned out the Communists," the people chant, tossing the fiction back to Mr. Dulles, "now please do something for us."

Resident Americans, whatever their affiliations, are of the same mind. In some cases their very profits are at stake. American road-builders are constructing or hope to construct many of the highways for which United States funds have been or soon will be allocated. The canny Franklin D. Roosevelt kept Latin America happy with friendly words and self-liquidating loans. The blundering Mr. Dulles is going to have to square his mistakes with cash handouts. Castillo's government needs $25,000,000 immediately. If the United States financed Castillo's revolt, as *Time* jubilantly hinted, we did not buy ourselves a government with the money—we simply made a down payment.

Castillo never had a party behind him, and his support would make anyone nervous. How long, for instance, will the army stand behind him, the army whose once-powerful Colonel Elfego Monzon is waiting eagerly in Miami, Florida, not altogether out of favor, obviously, with the State Department? The landlords, who were all for Castillo a year ago, have become more and more impatient with him for not restoring the land that was expropriated. But a decree invalidating the Arbenz reforms would make desperate, homeless wanderers out of a hundred thousand peasants. The dictator has therefore put off the day of reckoning by freezing the agrarian status quo until January 31, 1956—except for some 130,000 acres handed back to United Fruit. Some claimants have repossessed their estates by force, others through the courts.

Guatemalan labor, rural and urban, could give no effective support to Castillo even if it wanted to, for one of the dictator's first acts was to

*President Castillo Armas*

dissolve the labor movement. He has since permitted unions to reorganize, but not until their leadership has been cleared by the all-powerful Committee for National Defense Against Communism. Only completely emasculated groups have been able to reform after such a going-over. In addition, anyone who takes part in an "illegal strike" can be imprisoned for three years, although Decree No. 59, which prescribes this penalty, does not explain what constitutes an illegal strike.

Some 75,000 persons are said to be on the committee's suspect list. Anyone who ever helped organize a union, signed a peace petition, or accepted a homestead from his duly constituted government is probably on the list—if not already in jail. Decree No. 59 empowers the committee to throw a man in jail and keep him there for six months without trial on the mere suspicion of being or aiding a Communist. No matter how many times a suspect is freed by the courts, he can always be picked up again and held without trial for another six months. With the committee and its secret investigators combing the population, it is farcical to pretend that free speech or a free press exists.

The Guatemalan press's delicate references to the situation are pathetic. How the people really feel came out during the students' annual rag at Easter, a traditional parade and spree that the dictatorship dared not suppress. Under the



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immunity of the accepted fiction that it was all in fun, the students savagely lambasted the committee, Castillo' dependence on Uncle Sam, Vice-President Nixon, and the dictatorial acts of the government.

By all means let us send help. But gifts, loans, and private investments will make Guatemala more dependent, and therefore more restless, unless the money is distributed so as to gain lasting good-will rather than as a temporary anesthetic to facilitate political and economic operations. In the first place we must make sure that the money does not stick to the palms of the political hacks who surround Castillo. Castillo may be the dedicated man his admirers say he is, but no one can deny that his government is carrying a heavy load of grafters and cutthroats. In the second place we must see to it that the flow of gringo gold is not diverted to their own purposes by the economic elite of the country or over-eager American promoters. Far from holding with the trickle-down theory of prosperity, Guatemala's feudal aristocrats believe that wage increases are bad for the workers, that destitution has moral value. Thus they not only block individual betterment but stand in the way of industrialization, since the present pitiful average income prevents the people from ever providing the mass market an industrial system must have. Thirdly, of course, we should aid in the development of Guatemala's entire economy—away from one-cropism, for instance, and the frittering away of foreign exchange on luxury goods. Here the recommendations of the World Bank and the United Nations could be of great value, being beyond suspicion of commercial self-interest or Communist intrigue.

But if Guatemala is to be a real friend of the United States, its borrowings should be self-liquidating, and foreign capital should be self-effacing, not politically and economically avaricious as has been the case in the past. For in the end Guatemala and all other Latin American countries will want full independence, economic independence as well as political.

# SELLING TO THE ID

## Freud Writes the Ads . . . *by Joseph Seldin*

For the past fifteen years the outpouring of goods and services in this country has been immense. From $101,000,000,000 in 1940 our gross national product climbed to $357,000,000,000 in 1954. The expansion was caused by the material demands of two hot wars, the hunger for consumer goods not produced in war time, and the continuing material demands of the cold war. But in the past few years the production of consumer goods has outpaced demand, and unbought goods and services have backed up in the channels of distribution. In January, 1955, retailers' inventories stood at a near-record—$21,000,000,000. Nothing could budge these tremendous stocks. Even the $8,000,000,000 spent on advertising in 1954, an all-time record, only nudged consumer demand when a violent shove was needed. As a result many business firms making consumer goods are headed for trouble. They must either find a way to step up consumer purchases or cut back their production schedules. Rather than cut back they are asking the psychologists how they can induce the consumer to buy more.

Psychologists who have studied this problem say that we have entered a "psycho-economic" age in which emotional rather than technological factors determine the consumer's purchases. They declare that for each consumer want there are a dozen or more competing brands eager to satisfy that want. What motivates the consumer to choose one brand over others, to buy or not, is rooted deep in his emotional being, so deep, in fact, that he is himself unaware of the actual reason for his choice. If he is asked, he will explain that this cigarette tastes better, this shampoo lathers more luxuriantly, this cake mix is easier to handle. But to the psychologists these are strictly verbalisms, surface reasons that the consumer devises to protect his view of himself as a rational human being. The true reason for the purchase is buried in the subconscious and is associated with the consumer's innermost frustrations, fears, repressions, and need for security. Dr. Ernest Dichter, president of the Institute for Research in Mass Motivations, tells firms selling consumer goods that they must either sell emotional security or go under.

HOW do the psychologists discover what the consumer really needs—emotionally—from any product? They possess various professional tools, but the most valuable is the depth interview. In this no direct questions are asked and no direct answers are wanted. The purpose is to get past the surface reasons for doing things and uncover the unconscious reasons. The consumer is encouraged by a skilled interviewer to talk uninterruptedly on and all around the subject. When he runs dry of memories, say about his first shaving experience, he is asked to describe his feelings when he shaves in the morning, when he is in the drugstore looking over different shaving brands, and so on. Everything he says is taken down religiously. Since the interview generally lasts one to three hours, the wordage fills ten to forty double-spaced typewritten pages, and the result becomes a kind of short-order psychoanalysis. Trained psychol-

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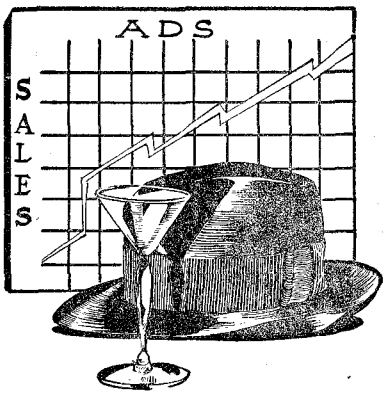
ogists then examine the verbatim accounts of perhaps fifty such depth interviews, hunting for clues to tell them what men in general demand from a shaving cream. The findings of the psychologists are finally transmitted to the sponsoring company. The emotional satisfactions that the psychologists say men are looking for are advertised as virtues of the shaving cream in the next selling campaign.

It is reported that half the blue-chip firms selling consumer goods or services are using psychological research. Others can scarcely afford the stiff prices of motivation experts. A simple advertising or packaging test costs from $750 to $4,500, a larger study of advertising and sales problems from $6,500 to $19,500; an industry-wide study may run as high as $25,000.

From motivation research American Airlines learned that the reason people did not fly more often, or did not fly at all, was not that they were afraid to die. That was the logical but not the real reason. The psychologists found that guilt feelings—"fear of posthumous guilt"—were a more serious block to air travel: the husband was afraid his wife would say after the plane crashed, "The darn fool should have gone by train." And the Book of the Month Club learned that stressing the number of books received by the club member each year of his membership caused him to drop rather than maintain his club membership. The reasoning of the psychologists was that the piling up of unread books gave the club member a sense of inferiority. They suggested he be assured that he did not have to try to read all the books as he received them. The Tea Council of the United States learned that such slogans as "Tired? Nervous? Take Tea" were simply reinforcing the general impression that tea was good only for the ailing and nervous. On advice of the psychologists the slogan was changed to "Make it hefty, hot, and hearty; take tea and see."




Psychological research is often effective, but it can hardly be expected to whip up enough spending by consumers to keep factories humming at capacity. Psychological clues to what makes people buy can give advertising men insight into their problems and suggest sounder themes for advertising campaigns, but common sense could often do as much. That the information supplied seems fresh and valuable tells more about the advertising industry than about psychological research. Advertising is a big business that spends billions of dollars yearly, but it is dominated by the social thinking of the wealthy suburbs. It is unaware of the aspirations of people who live on the other side of the railroad tracks. To be told something of these aspirations is a real help to advertising men. Common sense dressed in the trappings of science and offered at a high price is respected and bought.

More damaging to the case for psychological research is its tendency to disregard the price factor. Yet it is the price of articles that determines the buying actions of more than half the families in the United States—those with an annual income under $4,000. These families need an expansion of their buying power, not of their wants. Probing their emotions is an Alice in Wonderland approach to the chronic evil of maldistribution.

# BURMESE TRIPLETS

## They Work in Harmony . . . *by Maung Maung*

*Rangoon*

MUNICIPAL elections have just been held in Rangoon, ending a strenuous contest between the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, a coalition of government parties dominated by the Socialists, and the opposition groups. Lively interest was shown by the voters, 56 per cent of whom went to the polls—a really good record for Burma. The Freedom League won a sweeping victory, getting thirty-three of the thirty-five seats on the city council. This would seem to indicate how the electorate will vote at the parliamentary elections in April, 1956, but the opposition thinks not. It maintains that the result in the municipal elections was simply a triumph of the efficient party machine, that the people are getting tired of the governing coalition which has been in office for eight years and next year will vote it out.

Perhaps. But so long as the Freedom League is led by the triumvirate of Prime Minister U Nu, Minister of Industries Kyaw Nyein, and Defense Minister Ba Swe, its fall is a remote possibility. For the triumvirate is happy, harmonious, and complete: Nu is the philosopher statesman, an "independent" who is pledged to state socialism; Kyaw Nyein is the intellectual, the planner; Ba Swe is the able organizer, solid and shrewd. Together they have carried Burma through the difficult years that followed independence and launched the country

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on the present promising development projects. Together they have put down insurrections at home, met the menace of Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang troops in the border regions, and built up Burma's prestige abroad.

U Nu, Kogyi (Big Brother) Nu to his younger colleagues, is forty-nine and qualifies to be an elder statesman in this nation of young leaders. In his college days Nu had dreams of becoming the "Bernard Shaw of Burma" and wrote plays which he entered for the Prince of Wales prize in England. After taking an arts degree he taught in a district school but returned to the university to read law. Soon he was elected president of the students' union, which was then fast becoming the vanguard of the national movement for independence. In 1936 the students' strike thrust him into national prominence. The grievance of the students was small: Nu had been expelled by the English head of the university because he refused to reveal the author of an article in the union magazine to which some professors took exception. The strike was really an outburst of the national will for independence, and its leaders were destined to play prominent parts in the coming struggle.

EVENTS moved fast after the students' strike. The young men who left the university formed the Thakin Party (Our Own Masters), set new standards of sacrifice and sincerity, and introduced new ideas. Marxism appealed to them as much as the liberal principles of the West or Fabian socialism. Fundamentally the young Thakins were nationalists, and they soon began to look for foreign aid in overthrowing the British ruler. Nu, or Thakin Nu as he was then called, did not feel easy about using violence; he preferred to fight with ideas. He made a precarious living by translating foreign books for a leftist book club and writing novels. He went to China with a good-will mission and returned a determined opponent of Japanese imperialism. When war came to Burma and he was interned by the British, he sought for some way by which the Burmese people could be aroused and organized against the Japanese. If London would promise to make Burma a self-governing dominion after the war, he told the government, he was sure the people would respond by fighting the Japanese. The promise was not given.

While Nu, with his aversion to violence and cruelty, was pondering on how the people, by the force of their will alone, could win their freedom after hurling back the Japa-

# Sam A. Jaffe Talks with U Nu

Bandung, Indonesia (delayed) IN a one-hour interview with this correspondent Prime Minister U Nu of Burma gave his views on some of the major problems confronting the West today in Asia. A Buddhist who is rapidly rising as Asia's "guiding light," U Nu told me how his country has kept communism away from its door.

QUESTION: Chou En-lai has said that his country has the right to take Formosa by force. Do you agree wit' this?

ANSWER: I am compelled to agree.

QUESTION: Would you approve of American intervention if Communist China attacked Formosa?

ANSWER: If I supported the United States on Formosa, I would have also supported the Communists who gained footholds in North Burma. But as you know we smashed the Communists there.

QUESTION: After your talks with Chou En-lai at Bandung do you believe he sincerely wants peace?

ANSWER: I think so. Some people have the wrong idea of China. China's leaders are vastly different from other Communists. But you may ask, "Why did China intervene in Korea and Indo-China?" I think Peking was afraid that some one would build bases there and use them as a springboard against it. In Indo-China the Chinese may very well have supplied the arms used by the Viet Minh, but there were no Chinese troops there.

QUESTION: Do you think Communist China should be admitted to the United Nations, and if it were, do you think some of the world's tension would be eased?

ANSWER: Yes. And I think the seating of China would go a long way toward easing world tension. Otherwise there is no alternative but to fight.

QUESTION: Do you think Communist China is willing to compromise on the Formosa question?

ANSWER: To a certain extent all parties to the dispute are uncompromising. I believe China is prepared to make certain concessions. Its attitude is very conciliatory.

QUESTION: Do you think the present situation in the Formosa area likely to cause war?

ANSWER: War can break out at any moment. The situation is very explosive.

QUESTION: Can you solve your problems alone or do you need outside aid?

ANSWER: If you mean military or economic aid, then the answer is no. We will not accept free gifts from any country. We will pay for anything we need.

QUESTION: Is communism a major problem in Burma?

ANSWER: Definitely not. We can keep the Communists under complete control. We have been able to do this by four means. (1) Our anti-corruption drive. I have jailed one of my ministers, forced another to go underground, and imprisoned several other high government officials. We have set up a special bureau of investigation to combat corruption. (2) Our campaign against ignorance. We have been and are setting up schools throughout the country. Education is free. We have also sent students abroad to study. (3) Our alleviation of social and economic injustices. A large proportion of our population are peasants. We had many absentee landlords who were oppressing these peasants. Now our country has laws which restrict these landlords by taking away their land and distributing it to the poor. (4) Our efforts to be patient with our opponents. We allow them all the fundamental rights. I remember once a number of Communists were staging a demonstration. They had loudspeakers set up and were yelling through them that there was no freedom of speech in Burma.

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nese, Kyaw Nyein and Ba Swe were preparing for the liberation of Burma with Japanese help. The now-famous "thirty comrades" were smuggled off to Japan under Aung San's leadership; soon they were coming back through Thailand, leading the "Burmese Independence Army." Burma was taken in a few months. But the Japanese went back on the promise of immediate independence and reduced the independence army to a "defense" army, a mere three battalions strong. Dr. Ba Maw, an opportunist politician, was brought out and appointed Chief Administrator. Later, in August, 1943, Burma was declared "independent," and Ba Maw was made "Head of State." In the government were Aung San, Minister of Defense and commander of the army, who was rising steadily in national esteem; Nu, feeling uncomfortable as Foreign Minister; Kyaw Nyein, secretary to the Cabinet, later Deputy Foreign Minister; and Ba Swe in charge of the civil-defense corps. The last two were deeply involved in organizing a resistance movement. On March 27, 1945, the army rose against the Japanese, and the people gave full support. Ba Swe and Kyaw Nyein captured Rangoon three days before the Allied troops came in; Aung San commanded the guerrillas in the north. Nu, honoring his pledge of loyalty to the Head of State, allowed himself to be taken to Mulmein by the Japanese.

*Prime Minister U Nu*

The resistance movement developed into the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, the united front against alien rule, led by Aung San, Nu, Kyaw Nyein, and Ba Swe. The Burmese Communist Party, having been unable to gain control of the league, tried to wreck it from within but was found out and expelled. Kyaw Nyein and Ba Swe rallied the Socialist Party to recapture the initiative from the Communists, and just in time, for in March, 1948, soon after the league had successfully negotiated Burma's independence with the British Labor government, the Communists revolted and the country was plunged into civil war.

By then, of the four inseparable

*Kyaw Nyein*

comrades only three remained: Aung San had been assassinated by a political enemy. Nu became Premier and leader of the league; Kyaw Nyein was Minister of the Interior and responsible for security. The rebels blew up railway trains and plundered the countryside. Kyaw Nyein put their friends and supporters in preventive custody without trial, whereupon they applied to the Supreme Court for writs of habeas corpus, often successfully. Kyaw Nyein was a dictator, the Communists cried, but the times were desperate and he did not stop to defend himself. Ba Swe strengthened the league and the trade unions and held together the army. Premier Nu's was the voice of moderation, of the mediator; in the hour of madness his appeal to the moral conscience gradually found response.

Burma has come a long way since the anxious years after 1948. Peace has been largely restored, and de-

*Ba Swe*

velopment projects are giving people hope for the future. The government is now so firmly in command that it is paying increasing attention to foreign relations. U Nu has recently led missions to Communist China, Thailand, and India and has participated in the meetings of the Colombo powers. Everywhere he has pleaded for better understanding between the power blocs. America is a great and generous nation, he said to the Chinese, and China is a vigorous nation which has overthrown a corrupt regime. Why cannot the two establish mutual understanding and learn to coexist in peace? U Nu is prepared to visit Washington to make his points.

Kyaw Nyein, chairman of the anti-colonial bureau of the Asian Socialists, has also been outspoken against the "new imperialism" of Soviet Russia. For Burma he sees no alternative to neutralism. Chiang Kai-shek's troops are on Burmese soil, and the powerful new China is very close. Ba Swe, chairman of the Asian Socialist Conference, actively opposes colonialism. "The conscience of mankind must continue to suffer," he said, "for 350,000,000 people still groan under colonialism and imperial rule. The denial to this mass of humanity of the Charter of Human Rights is a negation of all that the United Nations stands for."

Nu, the philosopher, Kyaw Nyein the intellectual, and Ba Swe the organizer are agreed that the future of the world depends on freedom, cooperation, and coexistence, that power rivalry egged on by the hydrogen bomb can destroy man's hopes.



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# BOOKS

## Modern French Novelists

*THE CONTEMPORARY FRENCH NOVEL.* By Henri Peyre. Oxford University Press. $5.

**By Albert Guerard**

HENRI PEYRE is a scholar, a teacher, and a critic; the coincidence is not miraculous, but it is rare enough to be worth noting. As a scholar, he has read, digested, classified hundreds of books, most of which must have given him little pleasure: the test of scholarship is to defy boredom. As a teacher, he has provided a perfect textbook, indispensable to anyone who wants to take—or give—a course in the modern novel. It is crammed with information and offers all the required instruments—bibliographies of the originals, of English translations, of critical books and essays. The purpose of most books is to show off; this one is intended to serve. Most of all, this study is the meeting of a fine critical mind and a great subject. For the French novel is a factor in Western culture far more vital than many more sensational achievements.

What is *contemporary?* Roughly, Peyre's field is the last four decades, the between-wars and second postwar periods. Generations, ages, epochs, are all artificial. Peyre includes Proust, whose mind and taste belonged to the nineties, and he is right: although dead, Proust is a *presence.* "Among those present" Peyre notes incidentally Laclos, Stendhal, Dostoevsky, far more alive then Bourget or Bordeaux, who survived into the between-wars era. His pleiad comprises Martin du Gard, Jules Romains, Duhamel, Proust, Radiguet, Gide, Mauriac, Giono, St-Exupery, Malraux, Sartre, Camus, Simone de Beauvoir—and, in brief, about a hundred others. An impressive list! It might be interesting to compare it with Lemaitre's quintet—Proust, Gide, Giraudoux, Morand, Maurois; and with my own forty years ago—France, Loti, Bourget, Barres, Rolland. Such galaxies are probably as artificial as the Greek constellations. Farther back, we find the realist-naturalist group—Flaubert, Zola, Daudet, Maupassant, Huysmans; and beyond them, the Big Five of the romantic period—Hugo, Balzac, Stendhal, Dumas, Sand.

Professors might be tempted to grade those ages, as well as the individual writers. Critic Peyre resists; Professor Peyre yields on one point: he gives the early twentieth century a *C, summa cum misericordia.* He may be right. But Peyre grew to literary consciousness when these men had reached that dubious twilight when vogue is still fame and not yet glory. Pope, Shelley, Byron, Stendhal, Dickens had strange ups and downs. Victor Hugo was in eclipse for a quarter of a century; it was then Gide sighed his famous "Alas!" Posterity? Why should posterity be less foolish than ourselves or our fathers? Time will tell; but it will tell many things, and there is no assurance that any of them will be right.

THIS raises the general problem of criticism, as Peyre has already done in his "Writers and Their Critics." Peyre rejects any form of dogmatism. This leaves two possibilities: the objective study of literature as a social phenomenon, "race, environment, and time" as they condition the authors; and particularly the analysis of reception, success, vogue, fame. "Clochemerle" and "La Madonne des Sleeping-Cars" outsold Proust. Flaubert is fading. Dumas is perennial. When it comes to "the pursuit of beauty, truth, greatness in works of art," there is no criterion but the critic's own response. *De gustibus?* The taste of Peyre, admirably informed, thoughtful, sensitive, has a better right to our attention than the impressionism of a frivolous reader. But it has no objective value. Peyre ranks Mauriac and Giono far higher than I do; we are both entitled to our own responses. On the other hand, he rules out Cocteau, Giraudoux, Montherlant, for the unconvincing reason that they have done better work in the drama; and Colette, Celine, Bernanos, simply because he does not like them. I admire his frankness. But occasionally he relapses into the fallacy of absolute values. Of course there must be something wrong about a man who admires Beranger (as Goethe did), who failed to understand Stendhal (as Sainte-Beuve did), who took Feuillet seriously (as Pater did), or who still believes that Maupassant counts (as Artinian and Steegmuller do). Peyre might answer that he could not repeat in every paragraph "In my opinion." At any rate, his opinion is decidedly worth having. Disagreeing with a man of keen intellect is a delightful stimulant; finding oneself in perfect accord with a dullard is humiliating.

THE chapter on the impact of American fiction is particularly packed with facts and thoughts. The great names in French eyes are Hemingway, Steinbeck, Dos Passos, Faulkner. Not one of them is an uncritical admirer of the American way of life. Literature as the mirror of society? A wilfully distorting mirror. Why do we not have a *real* American literature, one that would match duPont, Bethlehem and General Motors?

The present temper in France? Very much like the aftermath of the Romantic collapse in 1848—an anguish, a remorse, a shame which men hardly dare to confess, and attempt to veil in symbols. Gratry said over a hundred years ago: "So long as Poland is a slave, Europe lives in a state of mortal sin." Most French intellectuals say *in petto,* Bernanos, Mauriac, Malraux said with a ringing voice: "So long as Franco rules, we shall be tormented by the ghost of our own cowardice." And the Spanish war was only one among many capitulations. But Sartre, Camus, Malraux, have dared to face the ignoble, which is also the absurd, and thus conquer it, even if they are to be crushed in the attempt.

*ALBERT GUERARD, professor emeritus of comparative literature at Stanford University, is the author of "Preface to World Literature," "Literature and Society," and other books.*



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# Three Sides of Texas

*G. B. DEALEY OF THE DALLAS NEWS.* By Ernest Sharpe. Henry Holt and Company. $5.

*GREAT ROUNDUP.* The Story of Texas and Southwestern Cowmen. By Lewis Nordyke. William Morrow and Company. $5.

*SIG BYRD'S HOUSTON.* By Sigman Byrd. The Viking Press. $3.50.

**By Stanley Walker**

HERE are three more or less noteworthy books out of Texas, that diverse and controversial state, often misunderstood, frequently amusing, and sometimes tragic, and they deal with subjects that have nothing in common—except that they are Texan. The many facets of life in Texas have long attracted writers, both the discerning and the baffled; the end of the flow of literature, good and bad, is nowhere in sight. One of these books is about a publisher of almost legendary integrity; another is about a group of high and mighty cowmen; the third is about low life in the fabled city of Houston. All are readable, and in general worth reading, with a few reservations.

George Bannerman Dealey was eighty-six years old when he died in February, 1946. Although the quirks that come with old age had been apparent for several years, he refused to the last completely to relinquish the direction of his paper, the prosperous and generally respected Dallas *Morning News.* As a youth from England he had started on the parent paper, the old Galveston *News,* as an office boy; by thrift, hard work, and a certain consistency of character, he obtained complete control of the Dallas paper. He ran the counting houses and the circulation department, and he kept a shrewd eye on the cerebrations of his editors.

Sometimes it seemed that Mr. Dealey, in his quiet way, also ran Dallas, and something of his influence was felt throughout the state. Toward the end he was regarded by most of the public as an authentic sage. In a commonwealth sometimes distinguished for its buccaneers and flashy promoters, he was a model of piety, sobriety, and a sort of bedrock probity. In his later years he was generous with his personal funds, and his regard for the welfare of his employees was such that even the federal courts ruled that he did not have to comply with the New Deal's wages-and-hours laws.

In telling the story of Mr. Dealey, Ernest Sharpe, sometime teacher of journalism at the University of Texas, has obviously had the cooperation of the Dealey family and the powers that presently run the *News.* Yet notwithstanding its marks of an "authorized biography," the book is an important addition to the shelf of newspaper biography. Mr. Sharpe missed many good anecdotes, but he managed to gather some of the important ones. He is vague in a few spots: for example, exactly why did Mr. Dealey and his paper break with Franklin D. Roosevelt, whom they had hailed at first as combining the best features of Cleveland, Teddy Roosevelt, and Wilson?

LEWIS NORDYKE, well-known Texas newspaperman, has put into "Great Roundup" much of the history of the Texas and Southwestern Cattle Raisers' Association. The beginnings of this powerful outfit were laid in 1877 when forty cowmen, tired of losing so many cattle to rustlers, met under a tree at Graham, Texas, and figured out a form of cooperation. In recounting its development Mr. Nordyke, quite properly, tells the story of the entire Southwestern beef-cattle industry—the passing of free range and the coming of fences, the fight against the dreaded Texas fever, battles against railroad discrimination and packing-house combines, efforts to improve the breed, and, in recent years, the opposition to government controls. But the main thread that runs through the book is the struggle against rustling. Methods have changed, but the fight goes on.

Mr. Nordkye's account contains little that is new, but it makes good reading. One might wish for a little more about some of the leading characters in the association—for example, fiery old Jim Callan of Menard, and the prosecutors, Dayton Moses and Joe Montague—salty men, worth examination in some detail. And the man who really spotted that Texas fever was caused by ticks, Dr. Theobald Smith, is not even mentioned.

THE effervescent Sigman Byrd, a word-painter who runs a breezy seamy-side column in the Scripps-Howard Houston *Press,* has collected come of the best of his efforts for "Sig Byrd's Houston." The title suggests, which is true enough, that there are several Houstons—the Houston of Miss Ima Hogg and good music, the Houston of Jesse Jones and his skyscrapers, the Houston of Hugh Roy Cullen and his philanthropies and right-wing crusades, the Houston of the high jinks and the fine clubs, and the Houston of a hard-working and often air-conditioned middle class. Mr. Byrd deftly

*STANLEY WALKER is a Texas rancher and free-lance writer.*


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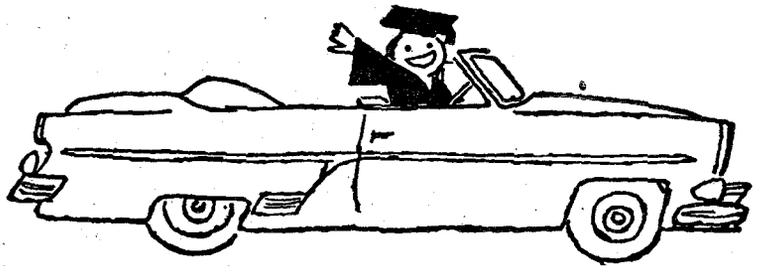

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and defiantly takes us to still another Houston—the Houston of the bums, the dope pushers, the juke-joint and poolroom habitues, the pimps and the chippies, the abandoned drunks of Skid Row, the waterfront hangers-on, the trailer-camp people.

All these and others are pictured by Mr. Byrd with great affection and considerable dexterity. The trick is essentially like that pulled years ago on the Chicago *Daily News* by a young man named Ben Hecht, who wrote "1,001 Afternoons in Chicago." And it has been done in other cities, notably New York. So far as a search of the statutes reveals, there is no law against writing such books. At this late date in history there isn't much to recommend it, either.

## Man and Beast in Kenya

*SOMETHING OF VALUE.* By Robert Ruark. Doubleday and Company. $5.

**By Basil Davidson**

IN WASHINGTON the other day they were telling me—no doubt for my own good—that the word "anti-colonial" must nowadays be considered practically subversive. In Asia if not in Africa, I gathered, the Communists have captured it. And now we have a well-known American journalist scoring a "mammoth" success with a novel which tells us in bloody detail exactly the same thing.

Robert Ruark offers the story of Kikuyuland, in the British colony of Kenya, shortly before and during the Mau Mau rebellion. He does it in a style which might perhaps be called "distended Hemingway." He is overpoweringly long-winded but has, nevertheless, the elements of a good story-teller.

He has evidently identified himself passionately with the Kenya settlers' state of mind. He knows their slang; he knows their habits. He has the bar and bedroom gossip down to a fine point of nastiness. And he shares their robust enjoyment in hunting kudu, elephant, and "Kukes."

Peter McKenzie and Kimani are little boys together, English and Kikuyu. A settler offends Kimani; the offense is taken by Kimani's rel-

*BASIL DAVIDSON, an English journalist, is the author of "Report on South Africa."*



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atives as portending evil fortune, and Kimani tries to kill the settler. Time passes. Peter becomes a wonderful white hunter; Kimani, a thief, a racketeer in the slums of Nairobi, and finally a Mau Mau commander. Horror deepens. Murders multiply. Goaded, the settlers reply with torture, and this counter-terror is described with an objectivity which is, so far as I know, unique in the field. Finally, Peter tracks down Kimani, the Mau Mau commander, and chokes him to death. But Peter saves Kimani's only son and takes him for his own.

Up to a point, the lesson is well read. Terror begets terror. But beneath the surface of impartiality Ruark's attitude expresses one by one the cliche-ridden affirmations of white supremacy. "The book is completely true in reporting that its early skeletal structure rests on stony facts," Ruark's own foreword tells us. Alas, no: the facts are sometimes not facts at all, but speculations, errors, or mere absurdities; and then, to extend the falsity of final effect, only half the facts are produced, the settlers' half.

I suppose one should overlook, as mere ornament, the extremely silly introduction of a mysterious Russian agent who comes down from Abyssinia to aid the rebellion. Possibly Ruark's ignorance of the Kenya scene, outside the Norfolk and New Stanley bars can excuse the nonsense of his having this imaginary Russian work together with an Indian Nationalist to the same end. What one forgives less easily is the bland assumption that Africans are animals and only whites are men. The underlying view seems to be that Africans have "a basic impulsive savagery" which "we civilized people" don't understand. Taking full account of the savagery of the Mau Mau rebellion, this is mostly rubbish. The religio-political dissensions of contemporary Africa may produce a lot of savagery in the near future, but for the most part it will be a reaction to long years of hunger, frustration, and despair. It will be "mysterious" only to those who are determined not to understand.

This attitude of Ruark's destroys his book's value as serious writing. From it flow monstrous errors of taste and even more monstrous errors of interpretation.

# Theater and Films

## Robert Hatch

EVERY reviewer has a blind spot. The one of mine that I know of—there may well be others—is musical comedy. All that noise, all those bright lights, all those grinning gymnasts, and the money poured out for those big production numbers throw me into a mean Presbyterian dudgeon. It isn't that I flatly dislike musicals—the way, for example, that I hate sweetbreads—but that my standard for them is absurdly high. I thought "Guys and Dolls" was dandy; before that, I liked "Show Boat" (I never saw "Oklahoma" or "South Pacific," which shows how closely I follow the song-and-dance business). I once knew a book reviewer whose taste in fiction was so extravagantly elevated that he would praise no novel that fell short of "Pride and Prejudice" or "The Brothers Karamazov." He rarely had occasion to say a kind word.

This personal note is only fair as a preface to saying that I was fitfully amused but generally depressed by "Damn Yankees" (Forty-sixth Street Theater). It is probably a much better than average musical, and I can see that the book—taken from a novel by Douglass Wallop—is miles above the run of such literature. A fanatic supporter of the Washington Senators sells his soul to the devil in return for being transformed into a baseball player of such surpassing ability that he can lead his hapless team to victory over the hated champions from the Bronx.

My fits of amusement were caused by the male chorus, which looked like a bunch of ball players and danced the way ball players might dance, if you can imagine such a thing; by a male quartet which sang with oafish insouciance; by Gwen Verdon, the star, who makes a fine joke of her absurd sexiness; and by Ray Walston, who played the devil in witty style. Mr. Walston is small and moves abruptly; he looked as though he had just had a manicure. For the most part, he dressed in conservative grays, cut sharp and with scarlet accessories, and he spoke in clipped wisecracks. A most successful Mephisto. There was also a good mambo, sung and danced by Miss Verdon and Eddie Phillips.

In general, though, the music and lyrics were spiritless, the big numbers were confused and dowdy, the humor was primitive, the action dragged, and Stephen Douglass, who played the hero, could not sing, dance, kiss a pretty girl, or wrestle with the devil to my satisfaction. I kept wishing I was at a ball game.

WE DROPPED the bomb, and the Japanese have made a film called "Hiroshima" to show what it was like. But there is no trace of accusa-


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tion or grievance in the picture. Yasutaro Yagi, who wrote the screen story, and Hideo Sekigawa, who directed it, have a more generous purpose: to provide a record, as accurate as possible, so that the world can judge what is in store if it proceeds with this type of persuasion.

There are three main topics in "Hiroshima"—the immediate physical devastation of the bomb, the slowly emerging after-effects of radiation, and the moral disintegration of the young generation. The picture suffers a weakness of focus because of this diversity, and the third theme in particular could have been omitted—it is a consequence of any kind of war, of revolution, of famine, or of any other force that plows up a society.

Photographing an A-bombed city is a little like photographing the Grand Canyon—it is hard to make the scale real. "Hiroshima" does it probably as well as possible. The camera moves out gradually into ever-wider circles, picking up new details of pain and horror but showing wherever it looks the same flat and smoking rubble. Unfortunately, this insane scenery is very much what we have seen in the half-erased cities of Europe; you have to keep reminding yourself that it was accomplished, not by night after night of saturation bombing, but by one plane that passed high and almost unnoticed over its target.

The most effective part of the picture is the history of how the Japanese were affected by the rumors and realities of radiation. In one scene a group of hospital patients, in rags and half-rotten with the sickness, cavort about a little bean patch when the first sprouts give them hope that at least the earth is not poisoned. Later, adults and children begin to show slower symptoms, and those as yet untouched look on in a terror too great for much pity. This new leprosy is the special horror of atomic warfare; it is the part of the film I cannot get out of my mind.

"Hiroshima" could be better than it is. Its scenario is badly confused ( I suspect the film has been heavily cut); its characterizations, its plot development, and its sermonizing are on the rather obvious level of a United States information film. Watching it, you never quite forget that you are being shown a conscientious reenactment designed to make you a better citizen, and for that reason you can evade a good deal of the emotional impact. The sad fact is that it will principally terrify those who have lively imaginations and quick sympathies, and they are the ones who least need frightening.

ANOTHER quasi-documentary film from the Pacific is "Heartbreak Ridge," a story of the French battalion fighting under U. N. colors in Korea. The plot is not much—a young officer fresh from home finds it difficult to command the trust and friendship of his battle-tired men—but the descriptions of the country and the type of warfare are fine. We have been told that Korea was a beautiful land; this picture, in color, shows its beauty being destroyed hill by hill. And we have heard that it was an ugly kind of fighting; it turns out to be an affair of stealth, small units, constant vigilance, personal courage. The landscape looks peaceful; there is no sign of man, certainly no sign of the enemy. But every tree, rock, and small declivity is probably deadly. It is rather like what we have read of our own Indian wars, except that no one is using a bow and arrow.

The picture was made during the fighting and under official auspices; the soldiers of the French battalion are the supporting cast. They have been so brilliantly directed—if that is the word—by Jacques Dupont that they look exactly what they were—a group of bitter and efficient killers. They were bitter because they believed, quite correctly, that they had been forgotten, and they were efficient because that was the one way to survive. These men have curiously little that is French about them. They are dressed and armed with American equipment and could readily pass as G. I.'s. Perhaps all soldiers move and talk alike when they are really working at their trade. I have a feeling that "Heartbreak Ridge" is one of the few pictures that look like war to front-line veterans.

THE new British courtroom melodrama is called "Eight O'Clock Walk" and has Richard Attenborough in the role of the almost victim of judicial error. Attenborough, who was first noticed in this country as a specialist in vicious weakling roles, has become one of the sturdiest average Englishmen employed by the London studios. He plays his present part wonderfully—the casual admission that he had been with the little girl just before she was killed, the growing uneasiness as the police questioning persists, the panicky realization that he has told his story all wrong, the anger when he is arrested, the hope when his lawyer appears, the despair when the prosecution goes to work—he does it all with just the right pressure, and you sweat with him. As always, the pomp of British legal procedure—all wigs and m'lords—is a wonderful show, and the courtroom types are a marvel of casting. The solution is dragged in by the ears.

# Records

**B. H. Haggin**

OVERTONE, which issued the superb record of Scheidt's "Tabalatura Nova" for organ, has followed this up with a record (No. 8) offering the Toccatas in C and F, a Fugue in C, and four chorale-preludes by Pachelbel (1653-1706) and the "Concerto del Sigr. Meck" and four chorale preludes by Johann Walther (1684-1748). This time again one's ear is delighted by the extraordinarily beautiful and clearly reproduced sound of the Holtkamp organ in Yale's Battell Chapel; then one notes the fine use of the instrument and the sensitive treatment of the music by Luther Noss; and then the quality of the music itself: the Pachelbel fugue and Walther concerto very engaging; Pachelbel's Chorale-Preludes "Jesus Christus, unser Heiland" and "Wie schoen leuchtet der Morgenstern" simple but strong; his more involved



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"Warum betruebst du dich, mein Herz" very beautiful; his majestic "Ein' feste Burg" very imposing; Walther's richer-textured "Ach schoenster Jesu, mein Verlangen" and "Warum betruebst du dich" also very beautiful; and his "Aus meines Herzen Grunde" and "Allein Gott in der Hoeh" very engaging.

One wishes Noss had recorded on the Holtkamp organ the works of Bach recorded by Karl Richter on the organ in Victoria Hall, Geneva: the Toccata and Fugue in D minor, Passacaglia, and Chorale-Prelude "Ich ruf' zu Dir, Herr Jesu Christ" on London LL-1174; the Fantasia and Fugue in G minor, Prelude and Fugue in E minor, and Chorale-Preludes "Wachet auf," "Kommst Du nun, Jesu, vom Himmel herunter," and "Vom Himmel hoch, da komm' ich her." I don't recall any performances of the Toccata and Fantasia that articulated their quasi-improvisatory substance in the way Richter does; but whereas his method is effective and successful in these two pieces, his pausing at the ends of some variations in the Passacaglia to set them off from the ones that follow is less effective than an unvarying tempo for the reiteration of the ground-bass. On the other hand a device of registration that I don't recall hearing used before—a silvery doubling of a voice two octaves higher, as in Variations 14 and 15 of the Passacaglia—is very effective. In quiet passages the sound of the organ is agreeable and clear; in loud passages the thick and coarse sounds coalesce into a mass in which nothing is clear.

On the three records of Columbia SL-222, "Debussy Piano Music," Casadesus plays the two Arabesques, "Children's Corner," "Masques," "L'Ile joyeuse," "Estampes," two sets of "Images," two books of Preludes, "Six Epigraphes antiques," and "En blanc et noir"—the last two with his wife Gaby. Listening only to the pieces which interested me—"L'Ile joyeuse"; "La Soiree dans Grenade" and "Jardins sous la pluie" of "Estampes"; "Reflets dans l'eau," "Hommage a Rameau," and "Poissons d'or" of "Images"—I have been astounded to hear nothing beyond the ability to play the notes pedantically in correct time—which is to say no grace, no verve, no brilliance, no imagination.


# Basic Facts In Today's Economic Confusion

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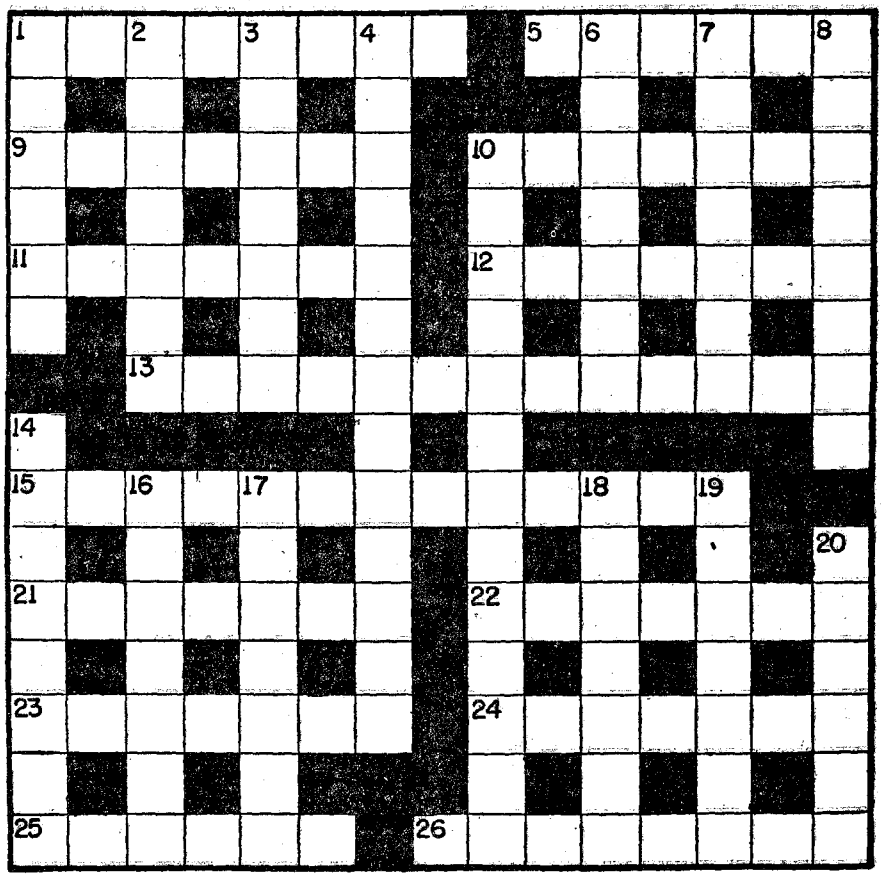
# Crossword Puzzle No. 620

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



## ACROSS

1 Shuttle? (8)

5 See 3 down.

9 An unusual piece of food. (7)

10 What a British doctor gets first in a mixed choir. (7)

11 At noon, I take part in Shakespearean drama. (7)

12 Not a good list for one who could show you an 18. (7)

13 Guide to the trombone? (8,5)

15 But the damage is usually repaired by make-up. (6,7)

21 A raft of trouble. (3-4)

22 and 1 down Spoken by der Alte in his cups? (3,4,6)

23 Available in the gillyflower. (2,5)

24 Associated with the press, perhaps. (7)

25 Ditched, commonly. (6)

26 He may value things more highly than we do. (8)

## DOWN

1 See 22 across.

2 15 might lead to this discord later, as it's almost warlike. (7)

3 and 5 across Waters might be associated with this rustic penthouse. (5,2,3,3)

4 Too large a sprint squad should be. (3,2,3,5)

6 Jinxes. (7)

7 How Longfellow suggested we make our lives. (7)

8 The sort of cars they made were sea-going, perhaps. (8)

10 How to make a sortie? (It's harder to get out of them!) (13)

14 The president repeated himself after forty-nine. (1,4,3)

16 Saves an alias for the heroine of the book. (7)

17 The upshot of this might give him zero. (7)

18 One of two house plants. (3,4)

19 It is placed in the way of a bad loser. (7)

20 He obviously would be associated with the search. (6)

### SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 619

ACROSS: 1 and 5 AND THERE YOU ARE; 10 ECUADOR; 11 STEARIC; 12 AFTON; 13 BOBTAILED; 14 EARLS; 16 and 1 down THE LAW OF AVERAGES; 19 OUTSIDER; 22 and 4 down WELSH RAREBIT; 24 EPHEMERAL; 26 AUGUR; 28 UNAWARE; 29 ALABAMA; 31 STRADDLE. DOWN: 2 DOUBT; 3 HEDONISTS; 7 APRIL FOOL; 8 ESCUDO; 9 USABLE; 15 ROUGHCAST; 17 and 30 AS WEAK AS A KITTEN; 18 CHORDATE; 20 DORMER; 21 RELIANT; 23 DEBUNK; 25 MEADE; 27 and 6 GRAND OPERA.

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Telefunken TM-68023 has given me my first hearing of the pianist Geza Anda, who plays with a tension and sharpness that point up the lively operation of the Haydn mind in the Sonata No. 23 and make the piece an exciting experience. In Mozart's Sonata K.576 the playing is too percussively forceful for the music, and for the microphone to record without distortion.

Mozart's lovely Clarinet Quintet K.581 is played on London LL-1167 by members of the Vienna Octet. The tone of the first violin isn't as beautiful as it might be in melodic passages; but the sound of the group is good; the tone of the clarinet is remarkably fine; and excellent pacing and sensitive phrasing add up to a performance which is less mannered that that of the Quartetto Italiano and de Bavier and very fine in its straightforward style.

The roughness of Rehfuss's baritone and the strain when he uses its upper range make his performances of Wolf's three Michelangelo songs on London LD-9182 less enjoyable than Hotter's on the Angel record. Rehfuss also sings "Der Musikant," "Verschwiegene Liebe," and "Gesang Weyla's," and two songs I care less for—"Der Freund" and "Storchenbotschaft." Excellent accompaniments by Hans Willi Haeusslein; no texts.

CORRECTION: In Gene Marine's article, The Profit in Atoms, in The Nation of May 7, it was stated that Portugal planned to increase its industrialization 80 per cent a year for the next five years. The figure should have been 20 per cent.


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